

The Backlash of Forward Thinking: The Relationship between Gender Quota Beliefs and
Attitudes towards Women

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgement	1
Abstract	2
Introduction	3
History of Gender Policies	3
Gender Policy Perceptions	5
The Influence of Policy Beliefs	7
Gender Policy Beliefs and Sexism in New Zealand Men and Women	9
Forms of Sexism	9
Hostile and Benevolent Sexism	10
Neo-sexism	11
Moderating Effects of Individual Differences in SDO and RWA	13
Right-Wing Authoritarianism	13
Social Dominance Orientation	14
Method	16
Participants	16
Materials	17
Demographic Information	17
Gender Quota Beliefs	18
Neo-sexism	18
Ambivalent Sexism Inventory	19
Right-Wing Authoritarianism	19
Social Dominance Orientation	19
Procedure	19
Design	21
Results	21
Gender Differences in Levels of Sexism and Gender Quota Beliefs	21
Relationship between Gender Quota Beliefs and Sexism among Men and Women	22
Hostile Sexism	23
Benevolent Sexism	24
Neo-sexism	25
Discussion	26
Methodological Considerations	29
Implications and Concluding Remarks	31

References	32
Appendix A – Advertisement for Outlook365	39
Appendix B – Advertisement for HRINZ	40
Appendix C – Information and Consent Form	41
Appendix D – Survey Items	43
Appendix E – Debrief Form.....	47

List of Tables

1. Mean Results for the ANOVA on all Scales	22
2. Correlations between Gender Quota Beliefs and each Sexism Measure for Men and Women.....	23

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Abstract

Whilst gender quota use is gaining momentum, many organisations and countries worldwide are yet to implement this policy. New Zealand is one such country where gender quotas are not used in organisations. However, people may mistakenly believe that such quotas exist. Understanding the nature and influence of such beliefs in the workplace is crucial when establishing successful policies and cultivating healthy work environments for both men and women. The focus of the present study was to investigate how beliefs in the existence of gender quotas in one's organisation predict attitudes towards women, specifically sexist attitudes towards women. Additionally, the present study examines whether individual differences in one's ideological attitudes, including right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO), moderate the relationship between gender quota beliefs and attitudes towards women. Ninety seven employed New Zealanders completed an online survey capturing these beliefs and attitudes. Results revealed that male employees, on average, held more sexist attitudes toward women than female employees. However, beliefs in the existence of gender quotas predicted more sexist attitudes towards women only among female employees and not male employees. Moreover, individual differences in women's RWA moderated these effects such that women high in RWA were particularly likely to express neo-sexist and hostile attitudes toward women when they also believed in the existence of gender quotas within their organisation. Implications of these findings are further considered.

The Backlash of Forward Thinking: The Relationship between Gender Quota Beliefs and Attitudes towards Women

Despite much progress being made towards gender equality in many nations, women remain obstructed by discrimination and other barriers in the workplace (Barreto, Ryan, & Schmitt, 2009). To overcome these obstacles, organisations are implementing gender policies which are designed to increase gender equality. As employees become aware of these policies and as they continue to be implemented within organisations, it is important that we assess how beliefs (including false assumptions) about these policies impact attitudes towards women. The present research examined how beliefs regarding the existence of gender quotas in an organisation predict attitudes towards women in general, as well as in the workplace. Specifically, this study utilised a New Zealand sample to examine whether perceptions about the presence of gender quotas in an organisation predict (a) sexist attitudes towards women among male and female employees and (b) whether individual differences in one's right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO) moderate the relationship between gender quota beliefs and sexism.

This research sought to examine the potential dangers of misinformation about organisational gender policies which may ironically lead to more resentment toward women in general and in the workplace. Such research sheds light on why it is so important that employers understand the impact employees' policy beliefs can have and provides crucial information which can be used to create interventions to combat any ironic effects of gender policies.

History of Gender Policies

Ever since New Zealand gave women the right to vote in 1893, the endeavour for gender equality has continued throughout political, business, and educational sectors. Due to

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

social movements and legal revisions, women in the Western world now have the right to vote, gain a tertiary education, and work in traditionally male professions. However, true equality is yet to be achieved.

Despite the fact that women make up nearly half of the employed population in nations like New Zealand, they only represent a small percent of the leadership roles. Recently, Grant Thornton's 2015 International Business Report found, through the use of 5,404 interviews conducted in 35 economies including both developed and developing countries, just 22% of senior leadership roles were held by women, with 32% of businesses surveyed having no female representation in leadership roles (Grant Thornton International Business Report, 2015). Additionally, women continue to earn significantly less than men in the same position, with the gender pay gap in New Zealand at 9.9% in 2014 (Statistics New Zealand: New Zealand Income Survey, 2014). This means that for every \$1 a man earns, a woman earns 90 cents. Women's access to the upper tiers of employment remain difficult to reach and this struggle to break the glass ceiling has prompted the need for organisational policies to be devised and implemented so as to further the progression of gender equality.

Various types of policies have been used in an attempt to promote gender equality, such as affirmative action and equal opportunity policies. Affirmative action (AA) is formally defined as the "voluntary and mandatory efforts undertaken by federal, state, and local governments; private employers; and schools to combat discrimination and to promote equal opportunity in education and employment for all" (American Psychological Association, 1996, p. 2). AA programs aim to remove past and present discrimination and improve the status of the disadvantaged groups (Iyer, 2009). This differs from the policy of (passive) equal opportunity, which seeks to treat each individual the same as any other (Crosby, Iyer, Clayton & Downing, 2003). Whereas equal opportunity policies aim to prohibit discrimination in the hope that this standing will result in fairness, AA is based on the belief

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

that good intentions are not sufficient for combating discrimination; rather systematic measures which change organisational policies and monitor such progress are needed so as to ensure the bias is removed and representation is improved (Iyer, 2009).

Organisations in many countries have begun implementing these AA measures so as to ensure that men and women have equal access to power and resources. There are a range of AA strategies such as focusing on advertising procedures which distribute recruitment efforts directly to sources that would easily be accessible by disadvantaged groups (Iyer, 2009). Another AA strategy focuses on offering training programs to the disadvantaged which in turn increases their accessibility to promotions (Iyer, 2009; Robinson, Seydel, & Douglass, 1998). The most controversial AA strategy involves adjusting the selection criteria for employment decisions and providing quotas such as for the number of females who are recruited. This strategy typically takes into account both merit and demographic candidate information, however the use of this strategy is dependent on the nation's laws.

Gender quotas have been legalised and implemented in numerous countries either by constitution, such as in Nepal, the Philippines and Uganda, or by electoral law, such as in France, Belgium, and Bosnia (International Quota Project: Global Database for Women, n.d.). In 2003, Norway was the first country to create a gender quota which ensures that 40% of company board members are women and recently Germany implemented legislation which requires at least 30% of non-executive boardroom members at large companies to be female (Smale & Miller, 2015). Despite the growing number of quota policies being implemented in political parties and boardrooms, many nations are yet to legalise the controversial procedure.

Gender Policy Perceptions

Although commonly utilised in Europe, gender quota systems have not been formally utilised by many other nations including New Zealand and the USA. New Zealand has no

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

formal gender quota system in place, yet legislation aims to reduce gender discrimination through the Equal Pay Act 1972, Employment Relations Act 2000 and the Human Rights Act 1993. Similarly, although the USA does not have any formal gender quota system in place, the Civil Rights Act 1964 protects against gender inequality.

Despite the absence of any formal gender quota system for either of these nations, local media coverage of these policies being present in other countries and discussions about promoting women in the workplace may create the misperception that such quotas exist in one's own country or organisation. For example, there has been increased coverage on Germany's recent change in legislation regarding quotas and this coverage has spurred on the debate of the use of gender quotas in other nations (Kaufman, 2015). Additionally, there has been significant media coverage of gender awards, such as the Leadership in Diversity Award at the Singapore British Chamber of Commerce Business Awards and the FDM Every Women in Technology Awards. These awards provide organisations with a platform to market themselves on and furthers the perception of gender awareness in the workplace.

Furthermore, research has captured the persistent belief that affirmative action involves quotas (Kravitz & Platania, 1993). Findings suggest that the belief remains persistent because it serves a protective psychological function, specifically for those who are not directly benefiting from the affirmative action procedures. Research has found that a belief in quotas allows non-beneficiaries such as White men to attribute their own past failures to the influence of affirmative action quotas as well as reason that their successes occurred *despite* these same quotas (Unzueta, Lowery & Knowles, 2008). Essentially the research suggests that non-beneficiaries are motivated to continue believing in the existence of quotas, even when a lack of evidence supports this belief, as this belief protects their self-esteem and increases their sense of self-competence.

Although previous research has looked at the impact AA policies have on White men, there is significantly less known about how such policies impact attitudes of women towards their own group. Most of the limited research on women focuses more on women's self-perceptions than their perceptions of other women (Heilman, Simon & Repper, 1987; Unzueta, Gutiérrez & Ghavami, 2010). In other words, while research has examined the influence of AA and gender quota policies on women's self-perceptions (e.g. their self-esteem), little work has examined its impact on men and women's attitudes toward other women in general. Therefore it is important in this field of work to assess both genders' perceptions of women in order to discover any similarities or differences that AA policies may have on men and women.

With increased media interest and more organisations utilising gender awards as a platform to market their business, it is not surprising that there may be misperceptions regarding the nature of these gender policies. Although no direct gender quota system is in place, New Zealand media consumers, for example, may mistakenly believe that organisations have quotas that automatically promote women up the ranks within their own country. Therefore it is important to understand whether these perceptions do currently exist and the impact these perceptions may have.

The Influence of Policy Beliefs

Previous research has shown that it is not the policies per se that are important, but rather employee perceptions of those policies. For example, Ansari (2011) found that perceptions of human resource (HR) practices impacted on employee commitment. Similarly, Kinicki, Carson and Bohlander (1992) found that employee attitudes are shaped through an organisations' HR programs, such as HR activities correlating with attitudes towards company values and job satisfaction. These findings are supported and well summarised by a study which concluded that employee perceptions of what motivates HR practices affects

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

their levels of engagement, behaviour and performance (Center for Advanced Human Resource Studies, 2011). If perceptions of HR practices and programs affect various aspects of employee attitudes and performance in the workplace, then one can also expect that a belief in a HR policy promoting gender will also have an impact on employees. It is therefore vital that we assess employee perceptions of gender policies to identify what impact these may be having.

The impact of policy perceptions has been recently highlighted by Kaiser and colleagues (2013) who found ironic effects for organisational diversity structures. Specifically, across six studies, they found that when an organisation had policies (e.g. diversity training and diversity awards) in place which aimed to produce a positive environment for an under-represented group (e.g. ethnic minorities or women in an organisation), high status group members (men or Whites) developed an illusory sense of fairness due to the mere presence of such structures. This illusory sense of fairness about the organisation caused the high status group members to become less sensitive to discrimination and react more harshly towards claimants of discrimination. Ultimately, discrimination claims were less supported and were perceived to be less serious and valid by high status group members when the organisation had a diversity structure in place.

In the current research, I tested whether beliefs about the presence of gender quotas within an organisation predicted sexist attitudes towards women in the workplace and in general. Furthermore, I explored the moderating effect of individual differences in right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO), two important ideological constructs in the literature, on this relationship.

Gender Policy Beliefs and Sexism in New Zealand Men and Women

One of the aims of the present work was to identify the level of gender quota beliefs and sexism among male and female professionals in New Zealand. Research on sexism has found that although women can also express sexist attitudes, men typically express higher levels of sexism than women (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). Regarding the occurrence of gender policy beliefs for each gender, research is scarce with the focus mainly assessing the impact these beliefs can have (e.g. Kaiser et al., 2013; Unzueta et al., 2008; Unzueta et al., 2010). However, since gender policies such as quotas impact women the most, one would expect that women would be more likely to have an accurate understanding and knowledge of the gender policies that are in place, if there are any at all. Therefore men are more likely to believe in the imagined and potential existence of gender quotas in their workplace. Women would be more aware that such quotas do not currently exist in New Zealand and with this in mind, the following hypothesis was proposed:

Hypothesis 1. Men will express higher levels of sexism and beliefs in the existence of gender quotas than women.

Forms of Sexism

Openly expressing beliefs that women are inferior to men is no longer acceptable in many societies worldwide (Eagly, Mladinic & Otto, 1991). However, despite increases in antidiscrimination legislation and decreases in overt sexism, the differential treatment of men and women is still existent and despite changes in overt perceptions of equality, a disguised form of sexism still exists (Heilman & Haynes, 2005; Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham & Handelsman, 2012; Shore, 1992). Contemporary sexism can therefore be seen as existing on a continuum from more blatant to subtle. This continuum can be captured through the concepts of hostile, benevolent and neo-sexism.

Hostile and benevolent sexism. Glick and Fiske (1996) suggested that unlike other forms of prejudice, sexism is marked by a deep ambivalence created from holding two sets of related yet opposing sexist beliefs. They characterize sexism as a multidimensional construct which contains both hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes, two opposing evaluative orientations towards women. To capture this construct they created the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999).

Glick and Fiske (1996) proposed that there are three core aspects to hostile and benevolent sexism. These three components are paternalism, gender differentiation and heterosexuality. Each reflects an ambivalence to women which underlies the characteristics of the relationship between the sexes. Paternalism views women as incompetent adults who require a male figure to protect and lead them. Gender differentiation is the assumption that biological differences between the sexes justifies the social distinction of the gender roles within society. Heterosexuality is the assumption that there is tension between a males need for intimacy with a women and their fear of women overcoming men and gaining power through the use of their sexual attraction (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 1997).

The three components of ambivalent sexism vary in terms of meaning depending on whether they are analysed through a hostile or benevolent sexist perspective. From a hostile perspective, dominant paternalism views women as a subordinate group controlled by men (Glick & Fiske, 1997). However, from a benevolent perspective, protective paternalism sees the power men have as a justification of why women need to be protected and provided for (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Hostile sexism justifies traditional gender roles, protecting the social convention of male domination and allows for the characterisation of women as sexual objects (Glick & Fiske, 1997). By contrast, benevolent sexism may seem to produce more favourable attitudes towards women due to them typically eliciting intimacy-seeking or

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

prosocial behaviours, yet ultimately still placing women in a restrictive role by viewing them through traditional stereotypes (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Men tend to score higher in both hostile and benevolent sexism, with the gender difference most pronounced with hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Although men tend to score higher in both forms of sexism, there are two possibilities regarding the likelihood of women expressing hostile and benevolent sexism towards their own gender. The first is that that gender quota beliefs will lead women to feel more negatively about other women since they see such gender quotas as undermining their own status within the organisation. For example, they may take other women less seriously because they feel that they are simply beneficiaries of those policies. The second possibility is that when women believe in the existence of gender quotas and benefit from gender policies, they are less likely to express hostile and benevolent sexism towards their own gender. Aside from scoring lower in hostile and benevolent sexism, women have been found to show less guilt for benefiting from affirmative action policies and express more resentment towards men's advantage in promotion opportunities, hence they are likely to show warmth to other women rather than higher levels of sexism (Feather & Boeckmann, 2007). Therefore, the second possibility is expected to occur in the current study. For men however, gender policies threaten the current advantages men have and when this threat is coupled with a higher rate of both hostile and benevolent sexism, one would expect that when males believe in the existence of gender quotas within their organisation, their levels of sexism will be furthered.

Neo-sexism. Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly (1995) describe neo-sexism as “a manifestation of a conflict between egalitarian values and residual negative feelings towards women” (p.843). Rather than overt prejudice, societal norms have shifted so that prejudice must now take a more subtle form in order to prevent being seen as undesirable. Tougas et al. (1995) particularly thought that neo-sexism would be a great predictor of political attitudes,

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

especially around an issue like affirmative action. Those high in neo-sexism may not overtly oppose equality but they will deny the existence of prejudice towards women and therefore argue against the need for policies that provide further support for women (Swim & Cohen, 1997).

The neo-sexist beliefs are expected to occur when individuals believe that changes in power could result in more of a loss than a win for their own group. This consideration of collective interest triggers sexist beliefs as reflected in the second study conducted by Tougas et al. (1995) which found evidence that neo-sexism and considerations of collective interest negatively impacts on the evaluations of beneficiaries of affirmative action programs. Similarly, research has shown that for men, feeling threatened due to increases in the recruitment of female employees not only leads to heightened neo-sexist views, but is also related to pro-male bias in evaluations of competence and negatively associated with willingness to support women (Beaton, Tougas, & Joly, 1996). This finding is in line with what Veilleux and Tougas (1989) have found, with research suggesting that when men believe they as a group will lose out on opportunities for employment and promotion due to affirmative action, they are more opposed to the policies.

Although neo-sexism does occur in both genders, men tend to hold more neo-sexist views (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). Furthermore, Garcia, Desmarais, Branscombe and Gee (2005) found that men who had consciously experienced redistribution policies scored higher in neo-sexism than women who had consciously experienced these policies. Similarly they found that those men who had experienced redistribution policies were less supportive of such policies than women, which is in line with research suggesting that ideological beliefs are shaped around protecting one's own group interest (Esses, Jackson, Nolan, & Armstrong, 1999; Tougas et al., 1995; Veilleux & Tougas, 1989). As gender policies are not in a male's group interest it is expected that they will express less support and

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

more denial of the need for such gender policies. Whereas the policies would be in the interest of women and therefore they are less likely to express neo-sexism and deny the need for these policies.

Based on the aforementioned research on hostile, benevolent and neo-sexism, the following hypothesis was put forward:

Hypothesis 2. Beliefs in the existence of gender quotas will be positively related to sexism in men, but not in women. This pattern is expected across all three forms of sexism (hostile, benevolent, and neo-sexism).

Moderating Effects of Individual Differences in RWA and SDO

Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA). RWA is a personality and ideological variable representing the covariation of three attitudinal clusters: submission to authority, authority approved aggressiveness towards particular people, and adherence to social conventions (Altemeyer, 1981). Those who are high in RWA see out-groups as threatening their authoritarian values and traditionalism, resulting in prejudice and hostility towards those out-group members. This prejudice and hostility has been found towards homosexuals, the visibly disabled, women, and racial minorities such as African Americans, Native Americans and Asians (Christopher & Wojda, 2008; Duncan, Peterson, & Winter, 1997; Laythe, Finkel, & Kirkpatrick, 2001; Noonan, Barry, & Davis, 1970; Whitley & Lee, 2000).

RWA is primarily associated with benevolent sexism since they reflect an ideology which places the role of women relative to men and therefore preserves traditional roles and in-group stability (Swim & Cohen, 1997). Interestingly, whilst most research on RWA has focused on male attitudes towards women, Roets, Van Hiel and Dhont (2012) found that RWA and benevolent sexism were strongly related even in regards to women's attitudes towards other women. This is consistent with past research suggesting that RWA is related to

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

an intolerance of those who deviate from the in-group norms the group emphasises (Duckitt, 1989; Roets & Van Hiel, 2006; Stellmacher & Petzel, 2005). Overall, those who are high in RWA are not only demanding members of other groups to maintain traditional roles, they also expect this from their own in-group members in order to maintain social cohesion. Since gender policies aim to promote equality and change the traditional role of women within society, people high in RWA who believe in the existence of progressive gender quotas, will show especially negative attitudes toward women relative to those low in RWA and believing in the existence of gender quotas.

Social dominance orientation (SDO). SDO is a product of the Social Dominance Theory which postulates that institutional discrimination is used to maintain group-based hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). SDO is a measure of individual preference for in-group based discrimination, particularly the extent one desires that their in-group dominates in a hierarchical social system (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994). Therefore those who score high in SDO prefer hierarchical-favouring structures and policies.

SDO has been shown to correlate highly with prejudice toward many social groups including women (Akrami, Ekehammar & Yang-Wallentin, 2011; Pratto et al. 1994; Pratto et al., 2000). More specifically, SDO has been shown to be primarily associated with hostile sexism, in comparison to RWA which is typically associated with benevolent sexism (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Sibley, Wilson & Duckitt, 2007).

SDO tends to be prevalent among individuals who hold high positions of power (Guimond, 2006; Lee, Pratto & Johnson, 2011), and those who score high in SDO tend to desire jobs with a high status (Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius & Siers, 1997). Pratto, Sidanius, and Levin (2006) summarise the body of work conducted on SDO and highlight that men tend to embody roles which enhance hierarchy such as police, judges, and business

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

executives whilst women tend to embody roles which attenuate hierarchy such as teachers and social workers (Pratto & Walker, 2004). Furthermore, the genders tend to have differing social and political attitudes with women tending to have a preference towards policies which benefit those less fortunate and promote social equality whereas men tend to support more conservative ideologies and military programmes (Pratto, Stallworth, & Sidanius, 1997). It is therefore no surprise that research also suggests that men tend to score higher in SDO than women (Levin, 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Sinclair, & Pratto, 2006).

However, contrasting research has also found that women score high in SDO, with Roets et al. (2012) finding that SDO is associated with women's hostile sexism towards their own gender. This finding suggests that those women who have beliefs in a hierarchical order will view challenges to the power structure as going against natural order and therefore resist it despite it being in their own gender's best interests.

Despite the majority of research on SDO and RWA focusing on hostile and benevolent sexism, this study extends this research to neo-sexism. Although little research has looked at the relationship between neo-sexism and SDO/RWA, this study further explores the relationship in the context of gender quota beliefs. An abundance of research has found that SDO and RWA are related to various forms of prejudice, including sexism (Altemeyer, 1998; Ekehammar, Akrami, Gylje, & Zakrisson, 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Extrapolating this finding to neo-sexism, one then can expect a relationship between SDO and RWA with neo-sexism.

Believing in the existence of gender quotas within their organisation may lead individuals to assess how these policies would impact on the hierarchical structure, the traditional roles of their in-group and ultimately social cohesion. These effects could be seen to negatively impact both men and women and when high in SDO and RWA this assessment

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

of the quota's impact could result in higher levels of neo-sexism. Therefore it can be expected that men and women will score higher in neo-sexism when they have gender quota beliefs and have high levels of SDO or RWA.

With the previously mentioned research on RWA and SDO's relationship with hostile, benevolent and neo-sexism in mind, the following two hypotheses were put forward:

Hypothesis 3. Men and women who believe in the existence of gender quotas, and who have high scores of RWA, will express greater sexism towards women than those who believe in the existence of gender quotas, but who have low scores of RWA. This pattern is expected across all forms of sexism, but greater effects are expected for neo-sexism and benevolent sexism.

Hypothesis 4. Men and women who believe in the existence of gender quotas, and who have high scores of SDO, will express greater sexism towards women than those who believe in the existence of gender quotas, but who have low scores of SDO. This pattern is expected across all forms of sexism, but greater effects are expected for neo-sexism and hostile sexism.

In summary, the aim of this study was to explore the effects of pre-existing gender quota beliefs on sexist attitudes towards women and the impact individual differences may have in moderating this relationship. Four hypotheses were proposed in an effort to better understand how gender quota beliefs impact on attitudes towards women in a New Zealand context.

Method

Participants

The participants in this study were individuals who were employed at a variety of New Zealand organisations. Participation was voluntary and the sample was made up of 41 males and 56 females between the ages of 18-65 years, creating a total of 97 participants with

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

a mean age of 38.86 years ($SD = 13.37$). The average organisation size was 2729.72 employees ($SD = 10163.77$), while the average team size was 10.65 employees ($SD = 9.65$). Finally, employee tenure averaged 69.93 months ($SD = 80.08$) suggesting a relatively diverse sample was captured. Participants who were self-employed were excluded from the analysis due to the lack of organisational policies associated with this form of employment.

Materials

A survey was designed using the online survey software tool, Qualtrics (www.qualtrics.com). This survey was mainly distributed through Microsoft Outlook365 and the Human Resource of New Zealand (HRINZ) research participant pool (see Appendix A and B). The first page of the survey introduced the study, described the purpose, explained potential risks and benefits, and provided information on informed consent and the researchers contact details (see Appendix C). Demographic and background questions were captured and then the survey continued on to measure a range of different constructs. The following items and scales were used to assess demographic information, gender policy beliefs, neo-sexism, hostile and benevolent sexism, RWA, and SDO. In amongst these scales were two distractor scales used to throw participants off from guessing the focus of the study (Huff & Kelley, 2003; McFarlin & Sweeney, 1992). The survey questions are presented in Appendix D.

Demographic information. Participants were asked to specify their gender (male, female, other) and age. The participants' ethnicity was reported using a scale which is more inclusive than the 2013 New Zealand census questionnaire and the scale has been successfully used to capture the local demographic (Hsueh, Yogeeswaran & Malinen, 2015). Participants were also required to indicate whether they were self-employed, the length of their employment, and the size of their organisation and team.

Gender quota beliefs. To measure the variable of beliefs in the existence of gender quotas in the organisation, participants completed a policy belief scale that is a modified form of the Policies and Practices on Gender Scale used by Hearn, Kovalainen and Tallberg (2002). The scale captured participant's beliefs regarding gender policies through ten items (see Appendix D for these and the rest of the survey items). However, of these items, only two items specifically assessed beliefs about gender quotas within the organisation: "My employer has a quota for women in management positions within the organization" and "My employer has gender quotas to ensure representation of women in the organization". Additionally, quota beliefs were captured through a slightly modified measure taken from Unzueta et al. (2010). It included two items and participants indicated their responses to these items on a 1 (very unlikely) to 7 (very likely) scale. A factor analysis found that both scales loaded on the same factor and therefore we have combined these two scales to form one gender quotas measure consisting of four items. In this study this measure had an adequate co-efficient alpha, $\alpha = .93$.

Neo-sexism. The neo-sexism scale was used to capture participants' attitudes towards women (Tougas et al., 1995). The neo-sexism scale contained 11 items and was captured on a Likert Scale ranging from 1 (total disagreement) to 7 (total agreement). This measure has been found to be useful in contexts associated with affirmative action, contains adequate psychometric properties and is also applicable across cultures (Fiske & North, 2014). The Cronbach alpha coefficient has been reported as .78 and .76 in the two studies undertaken by Tougas et al. (1995) and the neo-sexism scale has been found to correlate with negative attitudes towards women's rights ($r = -.56$; Masser & Abrams, 1999), negative attitudes towards affirmative action ($r = -.24$, Tougas, Brown, Beaton & St.-Pierre, 1999), and perceived discrimination against own-group gender for high scoring men ($r = .20$; Cameron, 2001). In this study the co-efficient alpha was also adequate, $\alpha = .85$.

Ambivalent sexism inventory. Due to the length of our survey, a shortened version of the 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) was used to capture benevolent sexism (BS) and hostile sexism (HS). Specifically, ten items were used with five capturing BS and five capturing HS. These items have also been validated in a New Zealand context and have been shown to have adequate internal reliability for both BS ($\alpha = .74$) and HS ($\alpha = .82$; see Hammond & Sibley, 2011; Huang, Osborne, Sibley, & Davies, 2014). Responses to the ten items were captured on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) Likert scale. In this study the internal consistency was high for both HS ($\alpha = .92$) and BS ($\alpha = .81$).

Right-wing authoritarianism. A shortened version of the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (Altemeyer, 1996) was used and has had promising results in past studies (Duckitt & Sibley, 2016; Osborne, Wootton & Sibley, 2013; Perry & Sibley, 2013). The six item scale required participants to rate how strongly they agreed with the statements on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). In this study the co-efficient alpha was calculated at $\alpha = .67$, nearing adequacy.

Social dominance orientation. Participants undertook the 4-item short SDO scale which was measured on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (extremely oppose) to 10 (extremely favour). Low scores indicated a preference for group inclusion and equality rather than dominance. For a short scale the internal reliability has been considered adequate, $\alpha = .65$ (Pratto et al., 2013). In this study the co-efficient alpha was $\alpha = .65$.

Procedure

A pilot test was initially conducted to ensure the survey was comprehensible, any missing data was avoided and content-validity was achieved (Cicchetti, 1994; Roth & Switzer, 1995). Three students and three employed members of the public completed the survey and provided feedback. Items were revised in order to better suit the closed-ended

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

question format of the survey. Results of the pilot study found it took approximately 20-30 minutes to complete the survey.

Participants used in this study were invited to participate through a variety of methods. Participants were recruited via survey distribution to an organisational research participant pool, through email, organisational newsletters, social media, and known social networks. Surveys were distributed via an online link that transferred the participant to the Qualtrics website which presented the survey. Participants were compensated for their time, receiving entry into a lucky draw to win various gift vouchers.

Participants were informed that the focus of the study was on organisational attitudes; however they were not told that the focus was specifically on attitudes towards women and the relationship those attitudes have with gender quota beliefs. This fact was withheld in order to prevent participants providing socially desirable responses. The study was approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee and a debrief was provided as soon as the study was complete (See Appendix E).

Participants opened the survey via the link provided and prior to beginning the study were given an information and consent form to read (see Appendix C). Confidentiality and anonymity was maintained as the survey containing the data did not require any identifying information about the participant. Participants who wished to enter into the lucky draw clicked on a separate link at the end of the study which opened into a new window that asked them to enter their email address. As their responses on the survey cannot be linked to the email address, their identity remained protected.

All participants provided consent and went on to complete measures capturing demographic information and gender policy beliefs. Following this they proceeded onto completing scales capturing neo-sexism, ambivalent sexism (i.e. hostile sexism and

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

benevolent sexism), SDO and RWA. They also completed a procedural justice scale and an organisational trust scale which were included as distractors (Huff & Kelley, 2003; Sweeney & McFarlin, 1992). At the end of the survey, the information was submitted electronically via Qualtrics. After survey completion, participants were debriefed on the study and asked not to discuss the study until the survey was officially closed. They were then provided with their participation incentive if their email address was drawn from the lucky draw.

Design

The predictor variable was gender quota beliefs and the outcome variables were neo-sexism, hostile sexism, and benevolent sexism. SDO and RWA were included as potential moderators in the study.

Results

Data was analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics software. Incomplete responses were removed and indexes were calculated for the various measures after reverse coding relevant items. The data was first examined to ensure the assumptions of regression and ANOVA were met, along with any outliers or missing data being excluded pairwise. The assumptions for the one-way ANOVA and multiple regression were met. The assumption of independence of observations was met as the participants were only surveyed once. The data was found to be normally distributed and the assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated as indicated by the Levene's test for each of the measures. Additionally there were no issues with multicollinearity as none of the predictors were significantly correlated with each other.

Gender Differences in Levels of Sexism and Gender Quota Beliefs

A one-way ANOVA was conducted in order to test hypothesis one by comparing mean differences between men and women on levels of sexism and gender policy beliefs. Men were found to be more sexist than women on all three sexism measures including neo-

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

sexism, $F(1, 87) = 22.61, p < .001$, benevolent sexism, $F(1, 86) = 8.95, p = .004$, and hostile sexism, $F(1, 87) = 17.42, p < .001$. Although the means table shows that males have higher gender quota beliefs than women, the ANOVA failed to meet statistical significance, $F(1, 90) = 1.16, p = .284$ (see Table 1 for means).

Table 1

Mean Results for the ANOVA on all Scales.

		<i>N</i>	η^2	Mean	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Neo-Sexism	Overall Group		.02			22.61	.000
	Males	39		2.84	.93		
	Females	50		1.96	.82		
Benevolent Sexism	Overall Group		.09			8.95	.004
	Males	39		3.66	1.17		
	Females	49		2.85	1.32		
Hostile Sexism	Overall Group		.17			17.42	.000
	Males	40		3.20	1.42		
	Females	49		2.05	1.20		
Gender Quota Beliefs	Overall Group		.01			1.16	.284
	Males	38		2.63	1.91		
	Females	54		2.23	1.58		

Relationship between Gender Quota Beliefs and Sexism among Men and Women

A series of multiple regression analyses were utilised to test the relationship between gender quota beliefs on the outcome variables (neo-sexism, hostile sexism, and benevolent sexism) for male and female participants. These tests used Andrew Hayes (2013) PROCESS to examine both the two-way interaction between gender quota beliefs x participant gender

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

on each sexism measure (hypothesis two), as well as the three-way interaction between gender quota beliefs x participant gender x RWA or SDO on each sexism measure (hypothesis three and four).

Below is a table displaying the correlations between gender quota beliefs and each sexism measure for men and women separately.

Table 2

Correlations between Gender Quota Beliefs and each Sexism Measure for Men and Women.

		Neo-Sexism	Hostile	Benevolent
Gender Quota Beliefs				
Men	.18	.01	-.19	
Women	.14	.43**	.35*	

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Hostile Sexism

Two-way interaction. To test hypothesis two, multiple regression analyses examined the interaction of gender quota beliefs and participants' gender on hostile sexist attitudes towards women. Results revealed a significant interaction between participant gender and gender quota beliefs on hostile sexism, $B = 0.32$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .04$, 95% CI [.022, .626]. The relationship between gender quota beliefs and hostile sexism was only significant for females, $B = 0.30$, $SE = 0.11$, $p = .01$, 95% CI [.078, .523] and not for males, $B = -0.02$, $SE = 0.10$, $p = .82$, 95% CI [-.228, .182].

Three-way interaction. Hypothesis three and four were tested by incorporating the moderators of SDO and RWA into the relationship. The three-way multiple regression analysis revealed that there was a significant interaction for gender quota beliefs, participant gender and RWA on hostile sexism, $B = 0.47$, $SE = 0.16$, $p < .00$, 95% CI [.144, .795].

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

Decomposing this interaction, simple slope analyses revealed that for men low in RWA (i.e. those 1 SD below the mean), gender quota beliefs predicted more hostile sexism towards women, $B = 0.39$, $SE = 0.19$, $p = .04$, 95% CI [.013, .773]. However, for men high in RWA (i.e. those 1 SD above the mean), gender quota beliefs had no predictive effect on their level of hostile sexism possibly because these individuals already scored high in hostile sexism, $B = -0.17$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .17$, 95% CI [-.427, .078]. For women on the other hand, gender quota beliefs predicted more hostile sexist attitudes toward women, but only among those high in RWA, $B = 0.48$, $SE = 0.15$, $p < .00$, 95% CI [.184, .782], and not among women low in RWA (i.e. those 1 SD below the mean). This suggests that gender quota beliefs are particularly detrimental for women high in RWA and men low in RWA as it increases their hostility towards women in general, but may not have much impact on men high in RWA because such individuals already possess hostile sexist attitudes towards women.

There was no significant interaction found between gender quota beliefs, participant gender and SDO on hostile sexism, $B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.11$, $p = .91$, 95% CI [-.214, .242]. This suggests that participant individual differences in SDO did not change the relationship between gender quota beliefs and hostile sexism for either men or women.

Benevolent Sexism

Two-way interaction. For hypothesis two, there was a significant interaction for participant gender and gender quota beliefs on benevolent sexism, $B = 0.33$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .03$, 95% CI [.030, .623]. Specifically there was a positive relationship between gender quota beliefs and benevolent sexism for females, $B = 0.28$, $SE = 0.11$, $p = .01$, 95% CI [.059, .494] but not for males, $B = -0.05$, $SE = 0.10$, $p = .63$, 95% CI [-.251, .152].

Three-way interaction. For hypothesis three and four, including the moderators of SDO and RWA into the multiple regression analysis revealed no significant three-way interaction for gender quota beliefs, participant gender and SDO on benevolent sexism,

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

$B = 0.03$, $SE = 0.11$, $p = .77$, 95% CI $[-.189, .253]$. This suggests that individual differences in SDO does not alter the relationship between gender quota beliefs and benevolent sexism for either men or women.

Similarly, gender quota beliefs, participant gender and RWA on benevolent sexism was also found to be a non-significant interaction, $B = -0.10$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .56$, 95% CI $[-.448, .243]$. Once again this implies that RWA does not change the relationship between gender quota beliefs and benevolent sexism for either gender.

Neo-Sexism

Two-way interaction. For hypothesis two, there was no significant interaction between participant's gender and their gender quota beliefs on neo-sexism, $B = -0.01$, $SE = 0.11$, $p = .92$, 95% CI $[-.221, .199]$. This suggests that the relationship between gender quota beliefs and neo-sexism was similarly non-significant among men and women.

Three-way interaction. In relation to hypothesis three and four, there was a significant 3-way interaction of participant's gender, gender quota beliefs, and RWA on neo-sexism, $B = 0.24$, $SE = 0.12$, $p = .04$, 95% CI $[.013, .473]$. Specifically, men who held gender quota beliefs and were low in RWA scored high in neo-sexism, $B = 0.24$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .08$, 95% CI $[-.025, .502]$, but for those who were high in RWA their gender quota beliefs did not predict greater neo-sexism suggesting that the sexism is generalised and not related to RWA, $B = -0.00$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .96$, 95% CI $[-.186, .178]$. However, for females, gender quota beliefs did not predict greater neo-sexism when the women were low in RWA, $B = -0.11$, $SE = 0.12$, $p = .36$, 95% CI $[-.345, .127]$, yet when they scored high in RWA their gender quota beliefs did predict greater neo-sexism, $B = 0.15$, $SE = 0.10$, $p = .16$, 95% CI $[-.059, .357]$, meaning that RWA beliefs made women more sexist when they believed in the existence of gender quotas within their organisation.

There was no significant 3-way interaction found between participant gender, gender quota beliefs, and SDO on neo-sexism, $B = -0.01$, $SE = 0.08$, $p = .87$, 95% CI $[-.170, .145]$.

This implies that individual differences in participant level of SDO does not change the relationship between gender quota beliefs and neo-sexism among either men or women.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to examine whether beliefs in the existence of gender quotas in one's organisation predicted men and women's attitudes towards women in both the workplace and more generally. One of the initial hypotheses focused on the mean differences of sexism and gender quota beliefs for men and women. Partial support was found for hypothesis one as men were found to score higher than women in three different measures of sexism; however men were not found to score significantly higher in their gender quota beliefs, as the results revealed that the men and women had similar levels of beliefs in the existence of gender quotas within their organisation.

According to hypothesis two, it was expected that gender quota beliefs would positively relate to sexism for men but not women. Using a sample of working professionals in New Zealand, data revealed that beliefs about the existence of gender quotas in one's organisation led female, but not male employees, to express more benevolent and hostile sexism towards women. As male employees were found to express more benevolent, hostile, and neo-sexist attitudes toward women on average, these findings suggest that perhaps gender quota beliefs do not further exacerbate men's attitudes toward women, but instead these beliefs may affect and be harmful to female employees' attitudes toward women in general. These results are surprising as one would expect men to have higher levels of sexism when believing in gender quotas since the policies negatively impact men significantly more than they would for women. However, on further thought, perhaps when women believe that gender quotas exist, their sexism towards their own gender increases as they begin to

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

compete more with one another than with men. Further research is recommended to find the underlying causes of these findings.

Contrary to expectations, there was no significant relationship for either men or women between gender quota beliefs and neo-sexism. This is interesting as the other forms of sexism (benevolent and hostile) did have a significant interaction, specifically for women. Future research exploring why this differing result occurred would provide further clarification.

Another aim of this study was to assess the moderating role SDO and RWA had on hostile, benevolent and neo-sexism. The most interesting finding of this study was in relation to hostile sexism and the moderation of RWA. Hypothesis three predicted that men and women who had gender quota beliefs would express more sexism when high in RWA, particularly for neo-sexism and benevolent sexism. Hypothesis four predicted that men and women who held gender quota beliefs would express more sexism when high in SDO, with the pattern particularly strong for neo-sexism and hostile sexism. To the contrary, the results revealed that there was an interaction between gender quota beliefs, participant gender and RWA on hostile sexism. Specifically, women who had gender quota beliefs were found to have more hostile sexism when high in RWA.

This result is interesting as most research shows a strong relationship between hostile sexism and SDO. However Roets et al. (2012) also found this unexpected result and offered up the suggestion that perhaps by providing women with special favours (as some may see gender policies to be) it may be seen as threatening to general social stability and therefore likely be contested by those high in RWA. Another explanation comes from Sibley et al. (2007) who showed that for women high in RWA, endorsement of benevolent sexism increases their endorsement of more hostile forms of sexism even towards their own gender.

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

So perhaps in this case, the women who preferred social conventions, such as male domination, saw gender policies as a threat to natural order. Their hostile sexism allowed them to justify traditional gender roles and in turn protect the place of women below that of men.

Another significant finding was regarding neo-sexism and the moderating variable of RWA. Whilst hypothesis three and four predicted that both men and women who believe in the existence of gender quotas in their organisation would express greater levels of sexism when high in RWA or SDO, the study found that only women who believed in the existence of gender quotas in their organisation and scored high in RWA expressed greater levels of neo-sexism. This finding suggests that for women who believe that gender quota policies are in place within their organisation, the RWA attitudes moderate the neo-sexism women have towards other women in general and in the workplace. In contrast, no support was found for the moderation of SDO between gender quota beliefs and neo-sexism for either gender.

Few studies discuss the moderation of RWA and SDO with neo-sexism, so these findings suggest that further research look deeper into this relationship. However, the significant result for RWA is not surprising as both RWA and SDO have been found to correlate with sexism, and neo-sexism, although a subtle form of prejudice, still fits within that category. Perhaps those women high in RWA believed that the existence of gender quotas questioned the social norms and challenged any submission to authority (White male authority) leading them to protect their beliefs by denying any need for anti-discrimination policies to exist. The reason why SDO failed to significantly moderate the interaction between gender quota beliefs and neo-sexism is difficult to determine at this time. Future research would help identify the true underlying explanation.

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

As expected, SDO had no significant interaction with gender quota beliefs, and participant gender on benevolent sexism. This finding was not surprising since research shows that SDO is strongly related to hostile and not benevolent sexism. Hence why hypothesis four expected a strong effect with hostile sexism rather than benevolent sexism when the moderator was SDO. This lack of significant interaction was also found for RWA's role as a moderator for gender quota beliefs and participant gender on benevolent sexism, which was unanticipated as hypothesis three expected a particularly strong effect with benevolent sexism.

The lack of a significant interaction between participant gender, gender policy beliefs, and RWA on benevolent sexism contrasts with previous research results which express a strong relationship between RWA and benevolent rather than hostile sexism. However, most research has not focused on this relationship in a gender quota belief and sexism context and therefore the findings are a valuable contribution to the field. One suggestion for the difference in findings could be that the population differs from the population used in similar studies. Most of the benevolent sexism research has been conducted in America, a population one would think would be similar to New Zealand. However these results could be a sign that there is a difference between these two populations. Replication of the study in an American context, as well as further exploratory research in a New Zealand context, would be beneficial.

Methodological Considerations

The present study has two major limitations: the use of self-reported data, and a correlational design that prevents one from drawing causal inferences about the influence of gender quota beliefs. The study used self-reported data to assess neo-sexism, hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, RWA and SDO. It is possible that participant's responses to the survey

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

could have included distorted information, either intentionally or unintentionally, and this may have biased the results. Given the sensitive nature of questions relating to gender policies and sexism, socially desirable responding is possible and a risk due to the use of self-report. Although the survey was confidential and anonymous, participants may have felt the need to distort their responses so as to appear socially acceptable. However, many other studies measuring these variables have also used self-report methods (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Roets et al., 2012; Sibley et al., 2007; Tougas et al., 1995) and when compared to other collection methods such as observation and interviews which are at an even higher risk of socially desirable responding, one can be confident that the self-report style is the best suited method of collecting this type of data. Furthermore, the use of deception and inclusion of distractor scales, such as the procedural justice and organisational trust scales (Huff & Kelley, 2003; Sweeney & McFarlin, 1992), will have reduced the likelihood of participants knowing exactly what the true purpose of the study was.

The correlational design is a further limitation of the current research as causation cannot be determined. As no causal direction can be determined, one cannot know for sure whether it was the gender quota beliefs which impacted on the sexism towards women, whether it was the opposite direction where the sexism actually made the participants more prone to holding gender quota beliefs, or whether a third unknown variable was at play. Despite this limitation, researchers still use correlational designs as they are useful for determining whether a relationship exists between two or more variables. This can then lead on to experimental research which will outline the causal relations among the variables in a more controlled setting.

Implications and Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, the present study explored the relationship between gender quota beliefs and sexism towards women with the moderating variables of SDO and RWA. One of the major findings of this work is that women's beliefs about the existence of gender quotas within their own organisations predicted greater negative attitudes toward women in general. This tendency was especially strong among women who scored high in RWA. By contrast, men's beliefs about the existence of gender quotas within their own organisations did not predict more negative attitudes toward women. It would be beneficial to replicate this study in an American context because many studies in this field have used an American sample and finding consistency in the results would highlight the generalisability of this study's findings. Furthermore, replication in another country which also lacks gender quotas within organisations, such as Australia, may provide greater credence to the findings.

This study highlights the importance of assessing employee perceptions of company policies and the effects these perceptions can have on attitudes in general, in the workplace, and towards women. Specifically, this study brings attention to the impact the anti-discrimination movement has, shedding light on why it is important that employers are transparent about company policies and are aware of their employee's policy beliefs. Hopefully this understanding will help provide a foundation for interventions that will combat any ironic effects which occur due to gender policies and ensure a more positive and productive working environment is established for all involved.

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GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

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Appendix A**Advertisement for Outlook365**

You are invited to participate in the "Organisational Attitudes Study" which is being conducted by Jessica Sletcher, Postgraduate Student at the University of Canterbury.

Research Title:

Organisational Attitudes

Background:

This study is interested in organisational attitudes, specifically regarding organisational policies. If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked for general information about yourself. Following this, you will be asked some questions about your organisations policies and your attitude towards a range of social issues. The entire study will take approximately 30 minutes to complete and will involve this single session. The results of the study will be used to better understand the psychological factors underlying organisational attitudes. You may also receive entry into a lucky draw to win Westfield Vouchers (lucky draw includes one \$100 voucher, two \$50 vouchers and four \$25 vouchers).

If you are interested in participating please,

Begin survey here

The survey will close on the 1st October 2015. Throughout the study and in reporting any results, your confidentiality will remain confidential and you will not be identified in any way.

*If you have any queries, please contact Jessica Sletcher on
Jessica.sletcher@pg.canterbury.ac.nz.*

Appendix B**Advertisement for HRINZ**

“Dear

Thank you for agreeing to participate in HRINZ's research option.

You are invited to participate in the "Organisational Attitudes Study" being conducted by Jessica Sletcher, Postgraduate Student at the University of Canterbury.

Research Title:

Organisational Attitudes

Background:

Jessica is interested in organisational attitudes, specifically regarding organisational policies. If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked for general information about yourself. Following this, you will be asked some questions about your organisations policies and your attitude towards a range of social issues. The entire study will take approximately 30 minutes to complete and will involve this single session. The results of the study will be used to better understand the psychological factors underlying organisational attitudes. You may also receive entry into a lucky draw to win Westfield Vouchers (lucky draw includes one \$100 voucher, two \$50 vouchers and four \$25 vouchers).

Begin survey here

The survey will close on the 1st October 2015. Throughout the study and in reporting any results, your confidentiality will remain confidential and you will not be identified in any way.

*If you have any queries, please contact Jessica Sletcher on
Jessica.sletcher@pg.canterbury.ac.nz.*

*Kind regards,
Brenda Tweedy AFHRINZ
HRINZ Operations Manager”*

Appendix C**Information and Consent Form****College of Science**

Department of Psychology
Tel: +64 3 364 2902, Fax: + 64 364 2181

Email: office@psyc.canterbury.ac.nz

**INFORMATION AND CONSENT SHEET****INVESTIGATING ORGANISATIONAL ATTITUDES**

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by University of Canterbury researchers, Jessica Sletcher, Dr Kumar Yogeeswaran, and Associate Professor Katharina Naswall. Please read the information below which outlines what is involved in this research. If you would like to complete this study, which will take approximately 30 minutes, you can give your consent by checking the “I Agree” box on the online survey.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this project is to examine organisational attitudes. If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked for general information about yourself. Following this, you will be asked some questions about your organisations policies and your attitude towards a range of social issues. The entire study will take approximately 30 minutes to complete and will involve this single session.

PROCEDURE

By volunteering in this study, you will be asked to answer a number of questions. First, you will be asked questions about yourself and your organisations policies. Following this you will also be asked for your attitude on a variety of social issues. After the questionnaire has been completed, you will be debriefed and given an incentive for participating.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no known risks associated with this research. Participation in this study is voluntary and your responses will be entirely confidential. In other words, your identity will never be revealed and your data will be reported in a manner that makes it impossible for others to identify your responses.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANISATIONS

The results of the study will be used to better understand the psychological factors underlying organisational attitudes. You may also receive entry into a lucky draw to win

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

Westfield Vouchers (lucky draw includes one \$100 voucher, two \$50 vouchers and four \$25 vouchers).

CONFIDENTIALITY

The researchers are very mindful of the need to protect participants' interests. Any information that you provide will be treated as confidential. Only the principal researcher and named supervisors will have access to the raw data. Under no circumstances will any data you supply be disclosed to a third party in any way that could reveal who the source was. The survey data will be stored on password-protected computers in secured locations in the Psychology Department. Because this research involves anonymous questionnaires you can be assured that your name will not be revealed in any reports or publications generated by this study. Due to the nature of this survey, your name is not required and therefore your identity will not be available to the researchers unless you elect to participate in the Westfield Draw. Even in this case, there will be no link between your name and responses, thereby making the survey entirely anonymous.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Participation is entirely voluntary. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequence of any kind. If you want to withdraw survey data, please exit out of the survey prior to submitting the responses.

CONSENT

By completing the questionnaire it will be understood that you have consented to participate in the project, and that you consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch; email human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz. Any inquiries or complaints can be addressed to The Chair, Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch 8140.

If you have any questions or concerns about this research, please contact Jessica Sletcher (Jessica.sletcher@pg.canterbury.ac.nz) or Dr Kumar Yogeeswaran (kumary.yogeeswaran@canterbury.ac.nz).

Appendix D**Survey Items****Demographics**

Gender:

- Male
- Female
- Other

Age:

Ethnicity:

- Maori
- NZ European
- Chinese
- Indian
- Pacific Islander
- Asian (other)
- Middle Eastern
- African
- South American
- North American
- Other (please specify)

Using the scale below where 1 = fully disagree and 5 = fully agree, indicate the extent to which you identify (i.e. associate yourself) with being part of the following groups:

I identify with my gender (i.e. as being a man or women)

I identify with my ethnic group

I identify with my country (i.e. as a New Zealander)

Self-employed:

- Yes
- No

Size of Your Organisation (i.e. approximate number of employees):

Size of Your Team (Note: A team is where two or more people interact dynamically and interdependently and share a common and valued goal, objective, or mission):

Length of Employment at Your Organisation:

Gender Policy Beliefs

Please respond to the following items on a scale of 1 (very unlikely) to 7 (very likely):

The gender policies in my company require employment of a specific number of women

My company's gender policy involves quotas for women

Using the scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

My employer has policies and practices for the recruitment of women in the organization.

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

- My employer has policies and practices for the promotion of women in the organization.
- My employer has policies and practices to support parental leave.
- My employer has policies and practices to promote women into management.
- My employer has a quota for women in management positions within the organization.
- My employer has policies and practices on bullying at the workplace.
- My employer has gender quotas to ensure representation of women in the organization.
- My employer has policies and practices to prevent violence at the workplace.
- My employer has policies and practices on alcohol and substance abuse within the organization.
- My employer has policies and practices for diversity training within the organization.

Right Wing Authoritarianism

The statements below reflect different opinions and points of view. Please indicate how strongly you disagree or agree with each statement on a scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree. Remember, the best opinion is your own opinion:

- It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds.
- It would be best for everyone if the proper authorities censored magazines so that people could not get their hands on trashy and disgusting material.
- Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fibre and traditional beliefs.
- People should pay less attention to The Bible and other old traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.
- Atheists and others who have rebelled against established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.
- Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the "normal way" things are supposed to be done.

Social Dominance Orientation

There are many kinds of groups in the world: men and women, ethnic and religious groups, nationalities, political factions. How much do you support the ideas about groups in general?

Extremely Oppose 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Extremely Favour

- In setting priorities, we must consider all groups. ®
- We should not push for group equality.
- Group equality should be our ideal. ®
- Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

Procedural Justice

Here we are interested in how you perceive certain procedures in your organisation. Please respond to the following items between 1 (very unfair) and 5 (very fair):

- How fair or unfair are the procedures used to communicate performance feedback?
- How fair or unfair are the procedures used to determine pay raises?
- How fair or unfair are the procedures used to evaluate performance?
- How fair or unfair are the procedures used to determine promotions?

Organisational Trust

Please rate your agreement to the following statements between 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree):

- There is a very high level of trust throughout this organisation
- In this organisation subordinates have a great deal of trust for managers
- If someone in this organisation makes a promise, others within this organisation will almost always trust that the person will do his or her best to keep the promise.
- Managers in this company trust their subordinates to make good decisions.

Neo-sexism

Please rate your agreement to the following statements between 1 (total disagreement) to 7 (total agreement):

- Discrimination against women in the labour force is no longer a problem in New Zealand.
- I consider the present employment system to be fair to women. ®
- Women shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted.
- Women will make more progress by being patient and not pushing too hard for change.
- It is difficult to work for a female boss.
- Women's requests in terms of equality between the sexes are simply exaggerated.
- Over the past few years, women have gotten more from government than they deserve.
- Universities are wrong to admit women in costly programs such as medicine, when in fact, a large number will leave their jobs after a few years to raise their children.
- In order not to appear sexist, many men are inclined to overcompensate women.
- Due to social pressures, firms frequently have to hire underqualified women.
- In a fair employment system, men and women would be considered equal. ®

Ambivalent Sexism (Hostile and Benevolent)

This question is looking at gender roles. Please rate your agreement to the following statements between 1 (strongly disagree) and 7 (strongly agree):

- Women, compared to men, tend to have greater moral sensibility.

GENDER QUOTA BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN

Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Women should be cherished and protected by men.

Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

Women are too easily offended.

Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

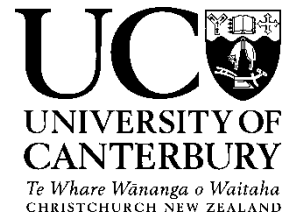
Once a woman gets a man to commit to her she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

Appendix E
Debrief Form

College of Science

Department of Psychology
Tel: +64 3 364 2902, Fax: + 64 364 2181
Email: office@psyc.canterbury.ac.nz



You have just participated in a study examining organisational attitudes. Though we were generally interested in this topic, we had other interests that we were unable to tell you about until now. Specifically, the aim of this study was to examine whether pre-existing beliefs regarding gender quotas in an organisation predict attitudes towards women.

The reason we withheld this information from you is because awareness of our focus on gender policies may have influenced your answers so as to be socially desirable. We wanted to access your true attitudes which were not influenced by what you thought was the socially appropriate answer, hence our decision to withhold the information during the questionnaire. Furthermore, sometimes participants try to confirm the experimenter's hypothesis. In order to ensure that you were not unconsciously influenced to do this, we withheld this information from you.

You may be curious about our hypotheses. Gender policies, specifically quotas, are becoming increasingly popular in many parts of Europe and is becoming a popular topic of discussion internationally. With increasing media coverage on the topic it is not surprising that there are misperceptions regarding the nature of gender policies. Although no direct quota system is in place in the New Zealand, many may mistakenly believe that organisations have quotas that automatically promote women up the ranks within their own country. These misperceptions could be detrimental to the effectiveness of the policies that are actually in place and could be negatively impacting the success of a women's career due to her progression being attributed to her gender and the misperceived policies. Therefore we wanted to examine whether perceptions about gender policies influence sexism towards women.

We hope this study highlights the potential dangers of misinformation about organisational gender policies that may ironically lead to more resentment toward women. Such research will shed light on why it is so important that employers understand the impact employee policy beliefs can have. Hopefully this understanding will help provide a foundation for interventions that will combat any ironic effects which occur due to gender policies and will ensure that a better working environment is established for all involved.

You are free to close the browser if you wish to withdraw from the study at this time. Otherwise, please continue on to submit your results by clicking the button below.

We ask that you do not discuss the study with others until the survey is officially closed.

If you are interested in learning more about the study or hearing about the results of the study, please feel free to contact Jessica Sletcher (Jessica.sletcher@pg.canterbury.ac.nz) or Dr Kumar Yogeeswaran (kumar.yogeeswaran@canterbury.ac.nz).

Thank you again for your participation!